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perpendicular slopes two or three miles from the village have to be cleared; the wood and scrub spread over the ground, which, in the Bison-horn country, has beforehand been dug over with the hoe or, perhaps, on the lower and less steep slopes, ploughed with great difficulty; field-houses, sheds and watching platforms have to be built on the *penda* slopes. The firing of the *penda* is particularly arduous; the stumps have to be cleared of the shoots that spring up when the rains have set in; and where deer or bison are numerous the clearings have to be fenced with heavy timber fencing. Man and woman here have unaided to do all that regular plains cultivators do with the aid of ox and plough, and much more besides. They do not weed their crops, and they broadcast their seed; here alone they save labour which falls to the regular cultivator, not out of laziness, but from ignorance.

For convenience the names which the Hill Maria gives to the months may here be stated:—

	English	*Maria*
The cultivator's year	December-January	Pusi
	January-February	Mah
	February-March	Phagur
	March-April	Chaita
	April-May	Mur
	May-June	Na
	June-July	Ha'i
	July-August	Hagh
	August-September	Eranj
	September-October	Eram
	October-November	Orna
	November-December	Pa, or Panc'i

The Bison-horn Maria uses generally the local Hindu names for the months. The calendar is, of course, lunar, the word *lenja* meaning either moon or month. Of the above names the first four are obvious corruptions of the Hindu names Pus, Magh, Phalgun and Chait. Mur is explained as meaning 'beginning'; 'to begin' is *mur hiyana*. Na is a shortened form of *nalung*, the numeral 4. Ha'i of *ha'ingu* (5), Hagh of *argu* (6), while the other four names are derived from forms akin to the Telugu words for 7, 8, 9 and 10, namely *eru* (7), *ermeri* (8), *ermadu* (9) and *padu* (10); it is interesting to note that although ordinarily the Hill Maria, except on the southern edge of the Abujhmar hills, has Gondi forms only for numbers 1 to 6, and after that uses the Hindi numerals, in the nomenclature of the months he remembers Dravidian forms for numbers 7 to 10. He counts the year as beginning in Mur, though some will say Na. (The Bison-horn Maria uses the local Hindu names for the months.) But as the actual round of agricultural operations begins with the felling of trees for the coming *penda*

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241 cultivation, it will be convenient to start this account from the new
●805 moon of Phagur, that is to say, the new moon nearest to the end of February, before which it is not considered right to start cutting forest for *penda*, though the work is started two or three weeks earlier for *dippa* cultivation. The choice of the *haghai* site (see p. 107 above) for the *penda* will have been made beforehand, either in informal discussion among the village elders or at the ceremony after *Koqsar*, the great concluding harvest festival, at which the *hatyeq-gaita* seated on his *udam-garia* seat of honour with the villagers seated around him, confirms by formal pronouncement the decisions probably already reached in informal discussions with the elders about the village arrangements for the coming year.

241 Before the felling of the forest may begin, a further ceremony takes place. I attended the ceremony at Orcha on March 11th, 1934, when the moon of Phagur was nearly full. At about 1 p.m. the *hatyeq-gaita* with the elders proceeded to the selected *haghai*, which was covered with a dense growth of sapling sal trees; the oldest villager present, a man of about fifty, said that he was a small child when it had last been cultivated. There Usendi Delu, the *hatyeq-gaita*, cleared a small piece of ground at the foot of a *saja* tree, set up a stone on it against a root of the tree, and placed an egg upright on its pointed end in front of the stone. He then squatted on the ground before the stone to the right of the egg, and Usendi Moda, the *gaita* or secular headman, to the left of the egg. Both put their hands together, palm to palm, touched the ground below the egg with them and raised them to their foreheads, uttering in unison the formula, '*Bhum kenji! Talugh kenji! Jimme jaga kenji! Anam pirka a'i, nehna nehna manna a'i! Kohla pandi! irka gumur hadi!*' (Earth hearken! Mother hearken! All that is here and around hearken! Let our crops and vegetables grow here, let them grow and yield full increase! Let our *kuthi* ripen! Let our cucumbers and pumpkins mature!) They repeated the formula in unison, again saluted the earth in front of the egg, and then arose. The congregation of elders which had squatted around them and kept silence all through the ceremony also arose, and everyone returned to the village, leaving the egg there unbroken. There was no formal felling of the first tree, and no allotment of the different plots of *penda* land.

241 From this ceremony onwards all are free to start felling.
423 There is no formal allotment, but villagers divide up the land by mutual discussion, the size of each plot depending on the number of persons in the household to be fed and capable of doing a full day's work with axe and hoe. It is largely a matter of one man volunteering to clear one plot and another man the next, and so on;

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involve considerable physical exertion and have proved excellent material for the physical training of the boys in the State schools; at the Muria *gotul* dormitories these games often take the place of dancing and singing. But the only Hill Maria villages which have anything of the kind appear to be those of the Padalibhum and Tapalibhum *pargunas* which are gradually adopting the dormitory organisation of their Muria neighbours; and some Bison-horn villages on the borders of the Jagdalpur Muria country are beginning to copy the Murias and Bhattras. Early to bed is the rule for old and young in Maria villages, and the child from the beginning learns to copy his father's activities; his playthings soon become small bows and arrows, fishing-rods and snares, skill in the use of which will make him an asset to the community. Stilt-walking in the early monsoon, occasional use of bull-roarers and bamboo drums, crude ornamentation of the walls of houses or the carving of ornamental combs and beadwork seem to be the only other recreations of Hill Maria youth.

F. Reckoning Time

The Hill Maria names for the months have already been given (page 129), and it has been said that in general the Bison-horn Marias know and use the local Hindu names. They call a month *lowj*, the word used for the moon; but all, even Bison-horn Marias, have to think hard before they can tell you what month it is, and there may be a certain amount of argument on the point. Throughout Bastar there is something of this uncertainty; the local Hindu months are named after festivals such as Goncha, Dasehra and Diwali; and the Bastaria, even if he adopts these, does not like to observe them on the same date in every village, because that would deprive him of the chance of taking part in the celebrations at the surrounding villages.

Though the Bison-horn Maria knows the Hindu names for the days of the week, and uses them in his conversation, the Hill Maria does not. If word comes to a Hill Maria headman that in thirteen days' time he and his villagers have to go to the tahsil court, or to work on the annual road repairs, he will make a tally string with thirteen knots and undo one every day, leaving to keep the appointment on the morning of the last knot. These tally strings are also kept by those who attend markets at fairly regular intervals; and in a murder case, of which the villagers had decided to suppress or postpone informing the police because it was the harvest season, the wife of the murdered man, determined to get justice, had kept a tally string on which she tied a fresh knot every

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805 morning after the murder, ultimately going to the police when there were fifty-four knots on it.

The Maria names for the times of day belong to this sub-chapter, but as they follow so closely the daily routine, I give them in the next sub-chapter.

G. Daily Routine

512 805 The following list of times of day was taken from Bison-horn Marias. It is more comprehensive than the Hill Maria nomenclature but the latter understand or have similar expressions in their own dialect for the Gondi expressions used by the Bison-horn Marias, though phrases dealing with ploughing or buffaloes, and Halbi expressions, unless corruptions of Gondi expressions, are not current in the hills. In the list, Ha. stands for Halbi, Hi. for Hindi and G. for Gondi.

Hāchahuṇḍā (G.)	2 or 3 a.m., the time when the *kāch-pitta* or king-crow calls '*Thākur-jī, thākur-jī!*' in the forest.
Kōrrh-kuṇḍā (G.) *Kukra-baṭan* (Ha.)	Cock-crow.
Pal-kōrr-tuṇḍā (G.) *Hal-joṭo-berā* (Ha.)	5 a.m., time to put the yoke or *hal* on the oxen.
Pharphar-berā (Ha.)	When the darkness is fleeing; *pharphar* is Gondi, the Nagpur Gonds saying *phalphal-dēṅ* for this time.
Narhōm (G.)	Just before sunrise.
Tirtir-pōrrā (G.) *Tirtir-berā* (Ha.)	The time when the sun is rising 'tir-tir' above the horizon.
Eh-pōrrā (G.) *Pānhāri-berā* (Ha.)	7 a.m., when the women go to fetch water (*eh*).
Hāṭ-pōrrā (G.) *Hāṭo-berā* (Ha.)	9 to 10 a.m., time to go to the market (*hāṭ*); sometimes they say '*hāṭi-pej-berā*', the time to have *pej* gruel before leaving for the market.
Jāṇā-pōrrā (G.) *Pej-berā* (Ha.)	About 10.30 a.m., the time for the morning meal of gruel (*jāṇā* or *pej*).
Tallā-pōrrā (G.) *Munḍ-berā* (Ha.) or *Āḍ-pōrrā* (G.)	12 noon, when the sun is directly over the head '(*tallā* or *muṇḍ*), or when the day is half (*āḍ*, corruption of the Hindi *āḍhā*) over.
Aṛhāī-berā (Ha.)	2.30 p.m.; literally '2½-time'; though Halbas do not know the clock, yet they use the expression, and so do nearly all Bison-horn Marias.
Hirri-pōrrā (G.) *Kaiki-berā* (Ha.)	About 4 p.m., when flocks of green parrots (*hīrri, kaiki*) invade the fields, and the women return from the fields.
Rafraf-berā (Ha.) or *Rātohaṇḍā-berā* (Ha.)	When the sun is half below the horizon. '*Rafraf*' is probably Gondi. Sunset in Maria is '*pōrrā digmāṭā*'.
Kōṇḍāng-tōkṭāṇā (G.) *Gai-goru-berā* (Ha.)	Time for tying up cattle.
Mas-mas (G.) *Masmas-berā* (Ha.)	When the light is fast going.
Jhul-pul-berā (Ha.)	About 7.30 p.m., when the flowers all shed their
Phul-cnadrī (Hi.)	greatest fragrance.

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Bhaisul-andhyár (Ha.)		'Buffalo-darkness', when the evening has become as dark as a buffalo's hide.
Tindil-tindlná (G.)	}	9.30 p.m., the time of eating (*tindlná*) the supper of boiled rice (*bhát*).
Bhát-kerd (Ha.)		
Bhát-nind-kerd (Ha.)	..	The time when drowsiness (*nind*) comes over one after supper.
Nerját (G.)	..	Midnight. The Hill Marias say *nerjám*.

The routine of the Bison-horn family's day is roughly as follows. The woman rises at cock-crow, and arranges her hair, but does not wash. She then pounds grain with the *uspal* husker. Her husband gets up when it is time to yoke the bullocks, and goes off to plough. She then sweeps out the house and its surroundings, and goes to the river to fetch water, and on her return cooks the *pej* gruel for her husband's meal; any spare time is occupied in basket-making. He generally comes home for this meal, but when the field-work is heavy, she takes it to him there. If they have had their meal in the house (the women always eat after their men have been satisfied), they return together to the field, where the wife works as hard as the husband, often even ploughing. She stays in the field till 'parrot-time' and then goes back to the house to prepare the evening meal, bathing naked on her way in a river pool. Her husband comes back at dusk, and ties up the cattle in the *bari* or in the byre; the children bring them home, calling stray animals with a kind of shrill yodelling. He then bathes naked in the men's pool, and returns for his supper and sleep.

I have not attempted to recapitulate the daily routine of the Hill Maria, most of which, including his four meals, has been detailed in the preceding pages, which have generally dealt primarily with him rather than the Bison-horn Maria.

H. Fire-Making

All Marias and most Murias make fire by means of a fire-saw.[1] A piece of bamboo about 1¼ or 1½ inches in diameter and about 16 inches long is split down the centre for about half its length, and wedged open with a pebble or a bit of stick at the split end. This 'hearth' stick is called by Hill Marias a *negbo*, and is explained by them as the 'mother' of the fire. Another length of bamboo, perhaps a little longer than the 'hearth', is split in half, and one half is trimmed along the top of the split to a clean, sharp edge; this trimmed half they call the *kanda*. A flat boulder is selected and firmly planted on the ground. On top of this are placed dry leaves, or a bit of old rag, if available; and two men hold the 'hearth' down by its ends on the stone and the leaves, so that the leaves are under the V formed by the wedged split. The third man then saws

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 423. – Ed.]

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harpunj	Sandals of sambhar-hide worn while treading the hot fields of axe-cultivation. **Katwāk** are wooden clogs.
kara	The **kothār** or threshing-floor.
ketul	A field-hut, **lāri** (Ha).
kopir (ragra)	A soil-leveller.
kor-lāt	Also **balla** (GN) and **dhoona** (Ha). A rake used to spread the ashes evenly about a clearing or field.
koyāna (katal)	Reaping.
mariyāna (duhrayi)	The second ploughing.
mer-gutta	The winnowing-pole.
munda (Ha)	An artificial pond. In GN called **neling** and **katta**.
nangel (nāngar)	Plough.
pāhāna (khapai)	The first ploughing. This and similar Gondi words are the infinitives of verbs.
parha urāna (ropa)	Transplanting.
parka	Also **dahi** (H). Brushwood is brought and spread over the fields, then burnt and the ashes are ploughed into the ground.
pārum (phār)	Ploughshare.
pehchna (biyāsi)	Puddling.
penda	The hillside axe-cultivation of the Maria and wilder Muria.
tondi, tond	A **mācha**-platform for watching the crops.
weda, bera (Ha)	A field.
wiāna (mindai)	Threshing.
witāna (bunai)	Sowing.

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ād pāhar (adhu-pāhar)	'Shade time.' Late afternoon.
bāhat erta	'It is bent.' Afternoon.
gai gohdi bera (Ha)	'Time of the return of the cows,' or **godroki** (Ha) 'Time of tying up the cattle'.
gānda lote bera (Ha)	'Time when the Ganda goes to his wife.'
hikāt (bhainsa andhiyar)	Dark, 'dark as a buffalo'.
hirri pord	When green parrots fly to the fields and the women come home.
jāwa pord, pite karu pāhar (pej bera)	Time for **jāwa**, 'time when the birds are hungry'. 10 a.m.
jāwa undāna pahār	Time for drinking gruel.
kaimal huskār, gudin pahār	Time of the first sleep.
korkusāna pāhar (kukrabasi)	Cock-crow.
mulpo	Sunset.
nadum narka (manjhar rāti)	Midnight.
narki pāhar (bara bihān)	Early morning. 6 a.m.
nekniti pord, talla pord (munde bera)	'Sun-standing' or 'head-time'. Noon.

CLASSIFIED GLOSSARY

palvi viyinta, wiytu (raja karan bera)	Dawn: the time when Raja Karan rose and bathed.
pharphar bera	The flight of darkness.
phulsundri (Ha)	Evening when the flowers give out their fragrance.
tirtir pord	The sun rises **tir-tir** into the sky.
yer pord (panihāri bera)	Time for fetching water. 8 a.m.

Dancing Dress

chāpi, mogiya	Dancing-shield.
gathurta, karhāna	Cloth tied criss-cross over the chest.
gheri	Skirt, called **koch!** by the Hill Maria.
guba	Tuft of feathers.
irna, ghāti	Buttock-bells.
jela	Streamers attached to the cap.
kauda-hār, koya-kaudāng	Cowrie decorations.
kokti	Wooden 'horse' carried on shoulder.
lolita, puring, toka	Different parts of the 'horse'.
muyang, ghulghuli, ghungru	Small bells worn on arms or ankles.
topi (H)	Dancing-cap.

Death

bagmeri bhut (Ha)	Ghost of a man killed by a tiger.
bisrān itāna	The ceremony of touching a dead fish at the end of a funeral. In Halbi **bisram** means the bad smell of a dead fish.
burkāl pāta	Song sung when a man is killed by a tiger.
erramtogh	A wife's elder brother or younger sister's husband, who have special duties at a funeral.
hanāl, muriyalor (duma)	The dead, the departed. *Hanāl* is a past participial form of the verb **handāna**, to go; and thus 'the departed' is a literal translation (W.V.G.).
hanāl gaita	Priest of the Departed.
hanāl gariya	Pot of the Departed.
hanāl gata (khama)	Wooden memorial pillar.
hāt hamur (marni)	Funeral.
hātur dhōl (marni dhol)	The drum for the dead.
jiwa (Ha)	The soul.
jiwa tatāna, yer niyāna (dasnāhan)	Ceremonies on the tenth day.
jiya bitāl	Any relative, but not a *saga*, of the deceased.
kal ursana, kamk ursana	To erect a menhir.
kutukal, ursakal	Memorial menhir, from Gondi **kal**, a stone and **ursana**, to bury.
kishiyāna (agi deto)	Cremation.
nelānj jurāl, nelānjur	Ghost of a motiari.
nirkor kotāna (tijnāhan)	Ceremonies on the third day.